

Richmond Dispatch

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MONDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1909.

A DANGER-SIGNAL HERE.

Under the law the official vote for Governor in the election last week will not be known until the Legislature meets in January. Meantime, the compilation which The Times-Dispatch prints this morning, as full as is likely to be obtainable, and official as far as it goes, offers a certain amount of food for thought.

This compilation tabulates the official returns from forty counties and six cities, certainly covering more than half the vote of the State. It shows that the counties and cities indicated gave Judge Mann 35,870 votes and Captain Kirk 17,313 votes. A year ago these same counties and cities gave Mr. Bryan 43,192 votes and Mr. Taft 23,008 votes. The Democratic shrinkage in these cities and counties thus amounts to nearly 17 per cent. The Republican shrinkage amounts to nearly 25 per cent. If we figure in all cities and counties the same shrinkage which is found to exist in those here accounted for, we find that Judge Mann's total vote is 68,846 and Captain Kirk's total vote is 35,837.

Let it be repeated that these figures are not offered as authentic and exact. They are simply presented, in the absence of authentic and exact figures, as the most reasonable estimate that can be made.

Now, up to last week there had been three general elections in the State since the new Constitution went into effect, greatly reducing the electorate. In the presidential election of 1904, the Democratic party polled 69,848 votes. In the gubernatorial election of 1905 it polled 83,544 votes. In the presidential election last year it polled 82,916 votes. Allowing for the increase of population in five years, the normal Democratic vote may safely be put at the latter figure, say 83,000 votes. Yet Judge Mann is estimated to have polled only 68,846 votes, a loss of some 14,000.

In 1904 the Republican party polled 47,880 votes. In 1905, a gubernatorial year, it polled 47,795 votes. In 1906 it polled 52,753. To average these would not be fair, since it is known that the Republican party has a larger following in national politics than inside the State. Let us hark back to the last State election and say that the Republicans have a secure normal vote of some 46,000. Yet Captain Kirk is estimated to have polled only 35,837, a loss of some 5,500.

What do these estimates show?

The opposition figures may be cleared out of the way at once. The utter collapse of the Republican campaign makes them virtually useless. Certainly it would be unsafe to base any general conclusion of an optimistic nature upon them. For reasons which it is needless to analyze, the presidential efforts to break the Solid South have been unavailing in Virginia with heavy defection from the Taft Republicans of a year ago. But suppose that these efforts had been more successful. Suppose that exceptionally strong candidates and an able and aggressive campaign from the Republicans had resulted in their not only holding the 52,753 Taft votes in 1908, but actually adding a thousand or two to them. How would Democrats view the 68,846 estimated Mann vote then?

The question is worth considering. The Times-Dispatch estimate brings out two points which invite serious thought. It indicates:

1. That between 4,000 and 5,000 qualified Democrats who voted in the primary refused to vote in the election; that is to say, one Democrat in every fifteen violated his primary pledge rather than do what his pledge called on him to do.

2. That some 14,000 qualified Democrats refused to vote in the election; that is to say, one regular Democratic voter in every six stayed away from the polls this year.

Is it possible to explain these two apparent facts by referring to the "apathy" and the general sense of security? Was the Democratic party any less secure in 1905, when 83,544 Democrats went to the polls and voted for Governor Swanson? Is there not a danger-signal of some sort here, the exact meaning of which it is the duty of wise party leaders to investigate and examine with some solicitude?

DESERTING THE PULPIT FOR BUSINESS.

Two clergymen in the heart of populous New England have resigned, separately, to go into business. Both of them are understood to have been driven from the pulpit by the smallness of their salaries. One of them has said so. He has issued a statement declaring that he is making the change "for the sake of the money, there is in it." He points out that clergymen's salaries have stood still "while wages have increased 50 per cent, and the cost of living about as much," and that in twenty-five years' hard service it is impossible for the clergyman "to save an amount equal to one year's salary or enough to keep him one year."

These clergymen will, of course, be

criticized. The ideal of a Christian ministry is entirely removed from the question of money. "Take no thought for the morrow" was the express injunction of the first preacher of Christianity. Whatever the circumstances, it cannot be thought inspiring to see a minister abandon his holy calling because he had a chance to "do better" in a manufacturing business. Yet it must be said at once that we do not live in an ideal era, but an intensely practical one, that the age of miracles seems to be definitely over, and that the clergyman who waited for the ravens to feed him and his family would be likely to find himself a charge upon the community.

The case is an exceedingly difficult one. To say that the parish should always pay the pastor a fair living salary is a good deal like begging the question. The church deliberately, and properly, pushes its work into parishes which simply cannot afford to pay such a salary. It is a cardinal tenet that the poor should have the gospel preached to them, and there can be no complaint because the poor pay poorly. As for the inspired men who voluntarily choose this life of self-sacrifice, they would hardly complain so long as they have food, clothes and shelter, which for a single man would mean no more butlay than the very poorest congregation could afford.

But many of these men are not single; they are married and have large families; and this complicates their case very seriously. The godliest man might be convinced that however much he was ready to sacrifice himself to the utmost, he had no right to sacrifice his wife and children. It would be rigorous to say that no clergyman should marry without an assured income, even though St. Paul favored celibacy as a general rule, and matrimony is clearly complicating. Possibly a sort of supplement to the home missions fund, by which wealthy parishes helped to pay the poorer clergymen's salaries, on something more like an equal basis, would be the most logical way out of a condition which is certainly not satisfactory as it stands.

MME. STEINHEIL, A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE JUSTICE.

The trial of Mme. Marguerite Steinheil has become an international sensation. Men and women who avoid the ordinary run of scandals and murder trials are interested despite themselves in the examination of the beautiful "tragic" widow, who gained the love of a President and shone in the most enlightened circles of France. Every day adds new features to the proceedings, and every cable report contains some new development.

But aside from the dramatic aspect of the trial, and apart from the insight it gives into the French love of the emotional, this case is a most interesting study in comparative justice. Perhaps every one who reads the details of the cross-examination of the witness by the Viscount de Valles pictured in his mind the contrast between the scenes enacted in the grim Parisian Court of Assizes and those witnessed so often before our American tribunals.

The serious character of Madame Steinheil's alleged crime gave her immediate access to the cour d'assises, rather than to the lower criminal court the tribunal correctionnel. Thus she escaped what would have been the police court hearing in America, and appeared before our Hastings Court. The cour d'assises has penal jurisdiction, and can sentence the unhappy woman to death. From its decision the only appeal lies to the chambre criminelle of the Court of Cassation—the supreme judicial tribunal of France.

As the latter court will only review the law in the case, the hearing before the jury of the cour d'assises will probably determine Mme. Steinheil's fate. While the verdict must be given by the jury of twelve, the law is construed by the three judges of the court, who also conduct the examination. Thus the chief prosecutor is also the chief magistrate.

In the eyes of American justice there could be no more complete reversal of justice. The president of the court, the Viscount de Valles, browbeats the prisoner whose case he must review, and warns the jury against her wiles. "Her tears and indignation," he solemnly announces to them, "are all calculated to affect you." "Watch her faint," he screams to the stolid twelve, "when I ask her the next question." Or, again, "You are a liar, madame," he cries to the prisoner. It must be remembered, though, that a good deal of this is sheer stage-craft, and that an exceptionally savage attitude on the part of the judge is understood in France to mean a desire for a light sentence. The reaction in sympathy is fully expected. And the freedom given the prosecutor is exceeded, if anything, by the latitude allowed the prisoner. She tartly abuses the judge, appeals tearfully to the jury and cites a thousand scandals that have no bearing on the case. She wheedles witnesses, or begs their pardon for injustices done them, with many a sob and tear. As a result, thrill follows thrill, sensation rolls on the heels of sensation, and there is not a dull moment in her three days' examination.

Very different would be the scene in an American court. A grim-visaged judge would wield impartial justice, while the lawyers for the defense would raise unending objections to the examination of the State's attorney. More than half the evidence would be ruled out, or else heard with the jury out of the room. Whatever the result, we should be able to congratulate ourselves upon the impartial hearing.

But, after all, there is little likelihood that our verdict would be more just than that to be given by the French jury. When the evidence is all in, and when the weary and hoarse presiding justice has composed himself, he will give instructions in accordance with the law. No doubt the jury will forget tears and reproaches alike, and decide the case on its merits. Justice is justice, in Europe or in America.

THE PROPER LINES OF TAX REFORM.

Nine weeks from day after tomorrow the General Assembly will convene. In some respects, the session then begun will be the most important in the recent history of the State. Vital measures and weighty ventures must receive the attention of the members. Needed reforms and wise statutory revisions must be approved. Every member of the Assembly will be called upon to vote on bills which concern the permanent welfare of the State and the lasting betterment of its material conditions.

Of the many important subjects to be considered, few, if any, are more urgent than the reform of our tax laws. Many of our tax provisions are antiquated and unequal; almost all of them must be revised if the State is to have its proper place in the forward movement of the South.

In anticipation of the Assembly's work, The Times-Dispatch has reviewed our tax code in all its features, and has submitted a series of reforms which appeal to this newspaper as amply deserving the attention of the Assembly. These reforms have no political bearing; they affect no existing offices, and aim solely at correcting existing injustice. They may be summarized as follows:

1. The appointment of a permanent tax commission to equalize assessments, to supervise the making of them, and to recommend future improvements in the tax laws of the Commonwealth.
2. The more frequent assessment of lands, to give the State the prompt benefit of increases in real values.
3. The abolition of the double tax on mortgages and the substitution of a law taxing the mortgage as an interest in the property.
4. The removal of the tax on bank deposits, and the exemption of the bonds of Virginia railroads.
5. The abolition of the tax on seals.
6. The exemption of the receipts from the sale of private timber as a portion of a farmer's taxable income.
7. A franchise tax for the manufacturers of implements and machines, with the license of agents under that franchise and their exemption from other license taxes on their sales.
8. The readjustment of the general license laws, and the incorporation of a general clause levying license taxes in proportion to the profits of the licensed business.
9. The defeat of the amendment for the election of commissioners of the revenue and the re-election of county treasurers by popular vote.
10. The assessment of taxes by personal service and personal oath before the commissioners.
11. The service of tax bills on all tax-payers to prevent delinquencies.
12. A general forced sale of all delinquent properties, and the payment of all delinquent taxes before current taxes can be received. In this manner the current tax receipt is a guarantee that all delinquent taxes are paid.
13. In case other reforms are not adopted and assessments are not properly equalized, the adoption of a direct inheritance tax, levied at 1 per cent. on all properties over \$4,000. This will prevent any possible deficit as a result of other reforms.

We again submit these proposed reforms to the attention of every member of the Assembly, and shall take occasion to review them during coming weeks. We believe that their adoption will remove unjust public burdens from many classes of tax-payers, and at the same time largely swell the revenue of the State.

"Adrift Strikes Bottom," says the headline. Cheer up, Ady! We've done it ourselves and always bounced back.

Borrowed Jingles

ALL ON ACCOUNT OF FATHER.

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—S. E. Kiser, in Chicago Record-Herald.

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Not Noticeable.

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Marjorie—You haven't been taking them long, have you?—Baltimore American.

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"What did you think of that piece the orchestra had just done?"

"Why, I didn't hear it, uncle; you know you were taking your soup then?"—Yenkers Statesman.

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"Why not?"

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